

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SP-02 INR-07 PM-05 NSC-05
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-----007104 292005Z /50-73

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0213
INFO USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 12502

GENEVA FOR USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, MNUC, GW
SUBJECT: GELB VISIT: CONSULTATIONS ON CRUISE MISSILES

BEGIN SUMMARY: AN EXTENSIVE, FRANK AND WIDE-RANGING
CONSULTATION WITH FRG DEFENSE MINISTRY AND FOREIGN
OFFICE EXPERTS AFFORDED FRG AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS
GERMAN CONCERN OVER POSSIBLE LIMITATIONS ON CRUISE
MISSILES IN SALT, AND POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION CRUISE
MISSILES MIGHT MAKE TO NATO DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE.
IN HIS PRESENTATION, GELB GAVE FRG POLITICAL AND MILITARY
DETAILS WHICH SUPPORTED US PAPER ON CRUISE MISSILES GIVEN
NATO RECENTLY, AND STRESSED THAT FRG SHOULD NOT INTERPRET
US PAPER AS "ANTI-CRUISE MISSILE," BUT AS REPRESENTING
OUR PRELIMINARY THINKING ON THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF
POSSIBLE THEATER APPLICATIONS. US SIDE EMPHASIZED IN ITS
REPLIES TO GERMAN QUESTIONS THAT IN THE THREE
YEAR PROTOCOL THE US INTENDS TO PROTECT ESSENTIAL THEATER
CRUISE MISSILE OPTIONS AND TO CONTINUE TECHNO-
LOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CRUISE MISSILE PROGRAMS. FRG

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CONCERNS CENTERED ON INCREASED THREAT POSED TO WESTERN
EUROPE BY MOBILE SS-X-20, ANTICIPATED IMPROVEMENTS IN
SOVIET AIR DEFENSES, AND CONSEQUENT PERCEIVED NEED TO USE
CRUISE MISSILES AS A PERCEPTUAL IF NOT MILITARY COUNTER-
-- TO MAINTAIN WESTERN CAPABILITY TO COVER THE
MR/IRBM THREAT TO WESTERN EUROPE. FRG APPRECIATED
EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, BUT IT WAS EVIDENT AT CONCLUSION OF

CONSULTATIONS THAT GERMAN CONCERNS REMAIN. END SUMMARY.

1. GELB'S EXPLANATION OF THE US POSITION ON CRUISE MISSILES IN SALT CONCLUDED THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF NO ESSENTIAL PROGRAMS OR TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CRUISE MISSILES IS PRECLUDED IN THE US DISCUSSION OF CRUISE MISSILES IN SALT WITH THE SOVIETS. HE EMPHASIZED THAT DEVELOPMENT OF CRUISE MISSILES IN VARIOUS MODES AND US THINKING REGARDING THEIR ROLE AND MISSIONS HAVE ONLY REACHED FIRST STAGES AND ARE ONLY BEGINNING TO TAKE SHAPE IN MANY AREAS.

2. GERMAN QUESTIONING, LED BY MG BRANDT (POL/MIL DIRECTOR, FMOD), WAS MARKED BY SERIOUS CONCERN OVER THREAT TO WESTERN EUROPE POSED BY MOBILE SS-X-20. MOREOVER, ANTICIPATED IMPROVEMENTS IN SOVIET AIR DEFENSES WILL IMPAIR NATO'S ABILITY TO COVER TARGETS IN THE WESTERN MILITARY DISTRICT BY THE MID-1980'S. THUS, ACCORDING TO GERMAN THINKING, CRUISE MISSILES ARE NECESSARY TO PRESERVE DEFENSIVE CAPABILITY OF NATO IN THAT THEY REPRESENT A PERCEPTUAL COUNTER. FOR THIS REASON, LIMITS ON DEVELOPMENT, TESTING AND DEPLOYMENTS ON CRUISE MISSILES ARE TO BE AVOIDED IN SALT.

3. BRANDT'S SECOND MAIN CONCERN WAS THAT, GIVEN THE SIMILARITY IN MISSIONS OF CRUISE MISSILES AND FBS, WHY
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HAVE CRUISE MISSILES BEEN INCLUDED IN SALT AND SS-X-20 EXCLUDED? HE SUGGESTED SS-20 BE PART OF SALT III.

4. GERMAN QUESTIONING ALSO REVEALED CONCERN THAT:

-- LACK OF AN AGREED DEFINITION OF WHAT A CRUISE MISSILE IS WOULD LEAD TO POSSIBILITY THAT SOVIETS WOULD CLAIM THAT ANY LIMITATION IN SALT DRAFTED TO APPLY TO CRUISE MISSILES ALSO APPLIES TO OTHER WEAPONS SYSTEMS;

-- THE QUESTION OF DEFINITION IS LINKED TO NON-CIRCUMVENTION;

-- THE LACK OF INFORMATION REGARDING COST EFFECTIVENESS OF CRUISE MISSILES LEADS TO CONFUSION OVER THEIR MISSION;

-- A TESTING LIMIT ON CRUISE MISSILES MIGHT INHIBIT THEIR DEPLOYMENT;

-- ACCEPTANCE OF LIMITATIONS ON CRUISE MISSILES IN

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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 12502

THE THREE-YEAR PROTOCOL WOULD SET A PRECEDENT FOR SALT
III;

-- LACK OF A CONVENTIONAL MISSION FOR LONG-RANGE
CRUISE MISSILES AFFORDS THEM A ROLE ONLY IN A GENERAL
NUCLEAR RESPONSE;

-- LINK OF CRUISE MISSILES WITH MBFR HAS NOT BEEN
THOUGHT OUT;

-- SATELLITE INTELLIGENCE FOR TARGETING OF CRUISE
MISSILES SHOULD BE DEVELOPED AND SHARED WITH ALLIES.

5. US REPLIES TO ABOVE QUESTIONS CONTAINED TECHNICAL
INFORMATION RE CRUISE MISSILES AND GAVE GERMAN EXPERTS
A THOROUGH STATUS REPORT ON PRESENT US THINKING ON ROLE
CRUISE MISSILES WILL EVENTUALLY PLAY. GERMANS WERE TOLD
THAT CRUISE MISSILES ARE PART OF SALT NEGOTIATING HIS-
TORY AND THAT THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE IF WE ARE TO MAKE
PROGRESS IN SALT. US IS PROTECTING ITS OPTIONS, HOWEVER.

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6. US PRESENTATION WAS EXPERT, THOROUGH, AND RESPONSIVE TO GERMAN QUESTIONS. EMBASSY BELIEVES IT PRODUCED A MOST USEFUL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. WE MUST CAUTION THAT GERMAN CONCERN CONTINUES. WE HOPE WE WILL CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO BRIEF THE FRG.

7. MR. GELB CLEARED THIS MESSAGE.
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Message Attributes

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